1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



648

Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648
167

Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

> One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484
439

Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well.

## TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants

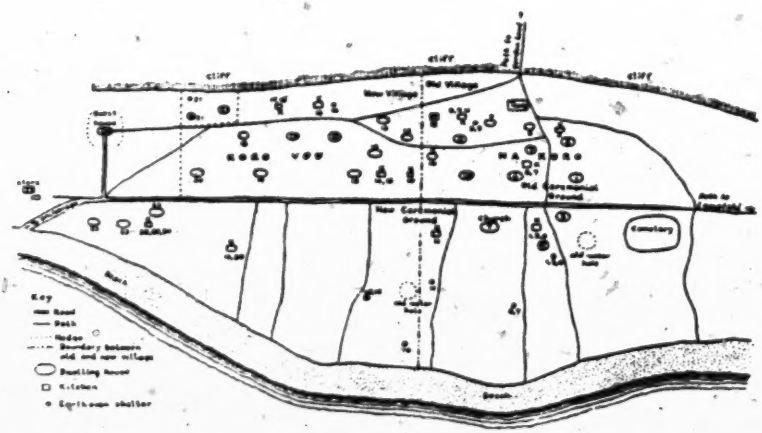


FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6



Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters.

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity.

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

## Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village.

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth.

## Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part.

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu.

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times.

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

*Meke* performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age.

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork.

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash.

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove. to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



### Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed 252
whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten.

### Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large im- [415]
ported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the [439]
pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed.

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

> Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, for- [263]
merly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten.

*Mboro*, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

### SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

#### Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

#### Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



396 [284] Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

**Deck.** Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

**Mast, rigging, and sail.** The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw, [177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 283] The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on [439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



287 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along
531 one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

*No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but* each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

### THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth,
531 which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration. 439 They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



### COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

*Mbekambeka* are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

### BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

### COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



303 [824]

FLOWERS

langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439]

Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 [832]

Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



### Mothe

Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, *sikethi* for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara.

### Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

### Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

#### IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra.

#### TRADERS

Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders (p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

# FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the
[197] trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central
[648] Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally
177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a
● 439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western



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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts.

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations.

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

| *Period* | *Total copra shipped* (tons) | *Total value* (£) | *Value per ton* (£. s. d.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1877-81 | 33,474 | 457,776 | 13. 13. 6 |
| 1882-86 | 27,782 | 312,213 | 11. 4. 9 |
| 1887-91 | 22,322 | 195,056 | 8. 14. 9 |
| 1892-96 | 34,827 | 309,543 | 8. 10. 11 |
| 1897-01 | 50,571 | 492,603 | 9. 14. 10 |
| 1902-06 | 50,083 | 621,799 | 12. 8. 3 |
| 1907-11 | 69,884 | 1,122,976 | 16. 1. 3 |
| 1912-16 | 60,040 | 1,057,058 | 17. 12. 1 |
| 1917-21 | 91,193 | 2,294,517 | 25. 3. 3 |
| 1922-26 | 121,286 | 2,345,205 | 19. 6. 8 |
| 1927-31 | 128,532 | 2,212,958 | 17. 4. 4 |
| 1932-35 | 87,280 | 714,447 | 8. 3. 11 |

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java.

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

| *Year* | *Quantity* tons | *Total value* (£) | *Year* | *Quantity* tons | *Total value* (£) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1922 | 21,987 | | 1930 | 23,882 | 369,524 |
| 1923 | 24,161 | | 1931 | 16,917 | 177,786 |
| 1924 | 25,137 | 484,496 | 1932 | 15,076 | 170,240 |
| 1925 | 24,133 | 497,713 | 1933 | 22,597 | 195,788 |
| 1926 | 27,868 | 573,475 | 1934 | 23,526 | 125,941 |
| 1927 | 26,560 | 534,416 | 1935 | 26,081 | 220,478 |
| 1928 | 27,947 | 567,254 | 1936 | 34,581 | 406,393 |
| 1929 | 33,226 | 563,978 | | | |

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



439 the natives regained most of their economic independence. However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes, trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 439 435 245 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 245 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn [654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

# ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

439 396 824 322 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 437 174 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114]

[1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
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7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6



the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

## Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

### Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv fiir Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6



323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

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[991] Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 150 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Vandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store, run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

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287 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Considerable masi (tapa) is made.

797 Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
871 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p. 43]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end ~~&hh~~ which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and ~~&hh~~ a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with